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CHARLES KNAPP

### MAGIC AND THE WEATHER IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

In lieu of other subjects, investigators, like conversationalists, may talk about the weather<sup>1</sup>. As Mark Twain says, "The weather is necessary to a narrative of human experience".

In antiquity, efficient methods had not been devised for storing up in great quantities the excess production of fruits and crops of one year to tide over a possible failure of the next harvests. The food-reserve must have been small, in spite of the existence of such magazines as one may still see in Crete and at Ostia. A shortage in one locality could not always be readily remedied from another. People lived somewhat of a hand-to-mouth existence at times. The reflex of poor crops was not long in making itself felt. Again, in contrast to modern civilization, which has almost freed itself from dependence upon the wind, the ancients needed this element in winnowing as well as in sailing their craft. It will thus be seen that the weather had an intimate relation day by day with the occupations and the welfare of a far larger proportion of people than it does at the present time. One of the problems of antiquity was, therefore, to secure the kind of weather needed and to avert the other. Numerous efforts were made to control the elements.

This paper may have some incidental interest in view of Sir James G. Frazer's theory of the evolution of kings from magicians. According to this theory, a reputation for ability to control the weather played no small part in elevating a man above his fellows<sup>2</sup>.

#### PRAYER

While efforts to influence the weather by prayer and sacrifice are in general not to be regarded as magic<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup>Other studies of weather lore by the author to be found in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* are *An Animal Weather Bureau*, 14.80-93, 97-100; *The Folk Calendar of Times and Seasons*, 16.3-7; *The Plant Almanac and Weather Bureau*, 17.105-108.

<sup>2</sup>Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship, 92-106 (London, 1905).

<sup>3</sup>Compare Frazer on Pausanias 2.12.1: "Attempts like these to appease the wind by sacrifice and prayer should be distinguished from attempts to subdue it by force or magic".

a few comments upon these supernatural aspects of weather lore make a fitting introduction to the magical side. Occasionally, however, prayers must have been closely related to incantations, as indeed are some prayers which it is still possible to hear. The very expression, *ignem divinum precibus eliciebant*<sup>4</sup>, breathes an atmosphere of magic.

Zeus was of course the chief object of devotion, since he was the god of lightning, thunder, the thunderbolt, rain, and clear weather<sup>5</sup>. He was the wind, the cloud, the rain, the cold, the air<sup>6</sup>.

Pausanias (1.24.3) saw in the Parthenon an image of Earth praying to Zeus to rain on her, 'either because the Athenians themselves needed rain, or because the drought was over all Greece'. Meditative Marcus Aurelius<sup>7</sup> records for us a rain-prayer of the Athenians, the simple beauty of which he thought worthy of imitation: 'Rain, rain, dear Zeus, upon the ploughed fields of the Athenians and on the plains'.

Deities other than Zeus were invoked for rain. When Croesus upon the funeral pyre learned that Cyrus intended to save him, but that orders were being carried out too slowly, he prayed to Apollo to send a cloud and storm and to cause a rain violent enough to extinguish the flames<sup>8</sup>. As part of a ceremony for rain, prayers were offered to the nymph of the spring on Mt. Lycæus in Arcadia<sup>9</sup>. In Orphic Hymn 82 prayer is made to Notus for rain, but it is recognized that he takes orders from Zeus. Notus is the wind that Zeus employs to bring on the rain for the deluge<sup>10</sup>. In Orphic Hymn 19 the clouds are invoked to send rain. Latin writers too show us that their fellow-countrymen prayed for rain<sup>11</sup>.

The following simple epigram is representative, perhaps, of the general belief in divine control of the weather: 'Eudemus dedicates this shrine in the fields to Zephyrus, most bountiful of the winds, who came to aid him at his prayer that he might right quickly winnow the grain from the ripe ears'<sup>12</sup>. Akin to this in spirit are entreaties to Zeus to send winds to entangle quail in meshes<sup>13</sup>.

The country of Mothone was subject at one time to strong and unseasonable winds, but from the day that Diomedes prayed to Athena the land suffered no injury from them<sup>14</sup>. Achilles prayed to the winds Boreas and Zephyr<sup>15</sup>. Etesian winds blew, on the invocation of Aristeus<sup>16</sup>.

Prayers to or for certain winds are common in the

<sup>4</sup>Servius, on Aeneid 12.200.

<sup>5</sup>Apuleius, *De Mundo*, page 371. For Zeus as a weather god, see Polk-Lore, 15.266-268; for Jupiter in the same capacity, see *ibidem*, 16.263-271. See also the handbooks of religion, by O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1906); L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1896-1909); Preller-Jordan, *Römische Mythologie* (Berlin, 1881). This conception of Zeus has inspired in more modern times an amusing play by John Heywood, called *Play of the Wether*.

<sup>6</sup>Ennius, in Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5.65. <sup>7</sup>*Ad Se Ipsum* 5.7. <sup>8</sup>Herodotus 1.87. There is in the British Museum a vase-painting showing Alcmena upon a pyre. One hand is upraised, perhaps in supplication. To one side Zeus is represented as causing rain to be sent (see Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, Atlas, Plate XIV d, Fig. 5).

<sup>9</sup>Pausanias 8.38.4. <sup>10</sup>Ovid, *Met.* 1.264.

<sup>11</sup>Vergil, *Georgica* 1.157; Horace, *Epp.* 2.1.132-135, *Carmen Saeculare* 31-32; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.682.

<sup>12</sup>Greek Anthology 6.53 (Mackail's translation).

<sup>13</sup>Callimachus, *Aitia* 3.1 (Mair's edition, page 309).

<sup>14</sup>Pausanias 4.35.8. <sup>15</sup>*Iliad* 23.194-195.

<sup>16</sup>Scholium ad Apollonium Rhodium 1.498.

Orphic Hymns. Tethys is invoked to send blasts favorable for certain ships (22)<sup>17</sup>; Zephyr is likewise entreated (81)<sup>18</sup>; Leucothea is urged to lavish breezes favorable for her priests at sea (74)<sup>19</sup>; Boreas is asked to drive away the rain-clouds and to make the heavens clear<sup>20</sup>. The *aether* also is entreated for clear weather (5)<sup>21</sup>.

The highly scientific Lucretius<sup>22</sup> knew that the skipper's prayer for the calming of the winds and the return of clear weather was a futile proceeding<sup>23</sup>. Efforts were made to avert even thunderbolts by prayer<sup>24</sup>.

#### SACRIFICE

By offerings, too, the ancients tried to persuade the gods to send the kind of weather desired. It would seem that sacrifice as well as prayer had magical elements in it. In the Agamemnon (1417-1418) Aeschylus does in fact tell us that the slain Iphigenia was a 'charm' against the Thracian winds. One would naturally suppose also that the sacrificial ceremonies would contain certain magical gestures and formulae.

The fact that thrifty peasants were willing to offer up healthy animals in sacrifice shows how implicit was their belief in the efficacy of the act. The most vivid picture we have of sacrifice for rain is worth quoting in full<sup>25</sup>:

'A drought is upon us. Nowhere is there a cloud hanging over the earth. We need a deluge. That the ploughed fields are thirsty the parched earth shows. Vain and unnoticed, it appears, are our sacrifices to Jupiter Pluvius. And yet all of us villagers engaged in rivalry to have a sacrifice with favorable omens and all of us contributed to the best of our ability, one a ram, another a goat, another a boar, the poor man a cake, the really poor man lumps of mouldy incense, but no one a bull. For we who live on the thin soil of Attica do not have a supply of fat cattle. But there is no aid from the expenditure, for it seems that Zeus is among other nations and is not concerned about things here.'

By sacrifice Aristaeus delivered the island of Cos from a protracted drought and pestilence<sup>26</sup>, an event that is commemorated on the coins of the island by the head of the deified Aristaeus and by a figure of Sirius<sup>27</sup>, at whose rising the etesian winds blew.

We learn from Pausanias (9.39.4) that there was an image of Rainy Zeus in the open air at Lebadea. By the same authority we are informed that there were altars to this god at Argos (2.19.8), on Mt. Hymettus

(1.32.2), on Mt. Panhellenius (2.29.7-8<sup>28</sup>, 2.30.4), and on Mt. Arachnaeus (2.25.10). At these places sacrifices were offered with varying ceremonies. From inscriptional evidence we know that in Cos formal processions by religious bodies preceded the sacrifices<sup>29</sup>. In Rome, too, in time of drought women went in procession<sup>30</sup> to the Capitol with bare feet and dishevelled hair, praying to Jupiter for rain<sup>31</sup>.

When Xerxes was marching against Greece, an oracle advised that prayers be made to the winds that they might become allies of the Greeks. Accordingly, the Delphians set up altars to the winds and sacrificed to them. At the time Herodotus was writing, it was still the custom to propitiate the winds<sup>32</sup>. The Persian Magi too made offerings to the winds<sup>33</sup>. When a violent storm destroyed not fewer than four hundred Persian vessels<sup>34</sup>, the Athenians thought that their prayers had been answered, and so in gratitude erected a sanctuary to the North Wind, beside the Ilissus<sup>35</sup>. They seem to have held festivities in honor of the North Wind and to have offered him banquets<sup>36</sup>. A heifer might be sacrificed to the blustering winds<sup>37</sup>. There are a great many instances of sacrifices of one kind or another to the winds<sup>38</sup>.

Lightning, too, was propitiated by sacrifice. To the northwest of Athens there was a lofty peak called Harma on which was an altar to Lightning Zeus<sup>39</sup>. When the Pythaists amid their vigil<sup>40</sup> beside the altar of Zeus Astrapaos in Athens saw lightning<sup>41</sup> over Harma, they sent a sacrifice to Delphi<sup>42</sup>. At Olympia there was an altar to Thunderbolt Zeus, which was supposed to commemorate the striking of the house of Oenomaus<sup>43</sup>. Sacrifices were made at Bathos to lightning, thunder, and hurricanes<sup>44</sup>. If one did not have a lamb or a chicken to sacrifice to the hail-clouds, an effective substitute was blood pricked from a finger<sup>45</sup>.

Ovid<sup>46</sup> tells us that a temple was dedicated to Tempestas by a Scipio<sup>47</sup>. There was an altar on the Quirinal to Juppiter Fulgurator<sup>48</sup>, and one on the Aventine to Juppiter Elicius<sup>49</sup>.

#### WEATHER-MAKERS AND MAGICIANS

In the pages of our first Greek writer, Homer,

<sup>17</sup>Compare Isocrates, Evagoras 5.14; Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 3.12.6; Pausanias 1.44.9.

<sup>18</sup>Paton and Hicks, The Inscriptions of Cos, No. 382 (Oxford, 1891); O. Lüders, Die Dionysischen Künstler, 165 (Oxford, 1891).

<sup>19</sup>Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People, 64 (Macmillan, London, 1911), thinks that the procession is a Greek element.

<sup>20</sup>Petronius 44; Tertullian, Apologeticus 40, De Ieiuno 16.

<sup>21</sup>Herodotus 7.178. <sup>22</sup>Herodotus 7.191.

<sup>23</sup>For a somewhat similar incident when the North Wind saved the Megalopolitans, see Pausanias 8.27.14, 8.36.6. The Cyziceni too were aided by the wind (Plutarch, Lucullus 10). When the Spanish Armada was destroyed, many people in England attributed the storm to the intervention of the Deity.

<sup>24</sup>Herodotus 7.189. Compare Aelian, Varia Historia 12.61.

<sup>25</sup>Hesychius, s. v. Boreasmoi. Compare the Athenian sacrifice to the seasons (Athenaeus 14.72).

<sup>26</sup>Lycophron, Alexandra 183-184. Compare Vergil, Aeneid 5.772; Horace, Epode 10.24.

<sup>27</sup>See Stengel, Die Opfer der Hellenen an die Winde, Hermes 16.346-350; Frazer on Pausanias 1.19.5, 2.12.1. See also Stengel, Der Cult der Winde, Hermes 35.627-635, and Preller-Jordan, Römische Mythologie, 1.329-331 (Berlin, 1881).

<sup>28</sup>Bekker, Anecdota Graeca 1.212. <sup>29</sup>This lasted for three days and three nights in each of three successive months (Strabo 9, page 404).

<sup>30</sup>The flashes of lightning were called 'Pythian' (Euripides, Ion 285).

<sup>31</sup>Strabo 9, page 404. <sup>32</sup>Pausanias 5.14.7. <sup>33</sup>Pausanias 8.29.1.

<sup>34</sup>Seneca, Naturales Quaestiones 4.6.2, 4.7. <sup>35</sup>Pastor 6.193.

<sup>36</sup>Compare the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, 6, No. 1287.

<sup>37</sup>Ibidem, 6, No. 377. <sup>38</sup>Varro, De Lingua Latina 6.94.

<sup>17</sup>Compare Vergil, Aeneid 5.59-60; Diodorus 4.43.1-2; Athenaeus 15.18.

<sup>18</sup>Compare Greek Anthology 12.171; Ovid, Amores 2.11.37-42; Claudian 12.41-45 (Pescennia De Nuptiis Honorii Augusti).

<sup>19</sup>Contrast Horace, Epode 10, where the elements are invoked to destroy Mevius at Sea. Prayer was made to Isis amid storms at sea (Tibullus 1.3.28).

<sup>20</sup>Compare Ovid, Fasti 1.681.

<sup>21</sup>On prayer and the weather, see pages 83-94 of the article by Morris H. Morgan, Rain Gods and Rain-Charms, Transactions of the American Philological Association 32.83-109.

<sup>22</sup>5.1226-1232.

<sup>23</sup>See other instances cited by W. H. D. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings 230 (Cambridge, 1902).

<sup>24</sup>Geoponica 1.12.37. Compare Seneca, Hercules Oetaeus 467-480.

<sup>25</sup>Alciphron, Epp. 3.35. Compare Ovid, Ibis 397-398.

<sup>26</sup>Diodorus 4.82.1-3; Apollonius Rhodius 2.516-527; Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 6, page 630; Callimachus, Aitia 3.1 (Mair's edition, page 209). Compare also Lycophron, Alexandra 159-160 (Mair's edition, page 508); Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 2.5.11; and Ellis's note on Ovid, Ibis 397.

<sup>27</sup>Head, Historia Nummorum, 411 (Oxford, 1887).

magical weather lore is already well established. Jove's aegis when shaken produced a thunderstorm<sup>50</sup>. The Hours, to whom was entrusted the guardianship of the gates of Olympus, were able to shut up the thick cloud or to send it forth<sup>51</sup>.

To assist Ulysses, his host Aeolus bound the courses of the blustering winds in an ox-skin sack tied with a bright silver cord, gave it to the hero, and then sent a favoring Zephyr<sup>52</sup>. In *Odyssey* 10.21 Aeolus has merely a mandate over the winds; in *Aeneid* 1.50-63 Jupiter has made him *rex ventorum*<sup>53</sup>. There were attempts to explain the story of the control of the winds by Aeolus. According to Diodorus (5.7.7), Aeolus was a petty king who, because of his ability to read in the fire signs of winds that were to come, was finally regarded as the ruler of the winds. It was said too that some people could tell from the smoke of Stromboli three days in advance what winds were going to blow. Since the home of Aeolus was in this region, the notion arose, if we may believe Pliny<sup>54</sup>, that the winds were governed by him.

Several gods and magicians of the *Odyssey* were able to direct the winds or even to cause storms, among them Athena<sup>55</sup>, Poseidon<sup>56</sup>, Calypso<sup>57</sup>, and Circe<sup>58</sup>. In the *Iliad*, Hera stirs up squalls upon the boisterous main<sup>59</sup>; Apollo sends a favorable breeze<sup>60</sup>.

Though there are many references to prayers for winds favorable to navigation, weather-makers seem more concerned about subduing the winds than in causing them. Rhea was able to avert hurricanes<sup>61</sup>. On one occasion, when it had stormed three days, the Magi in the army of Xerxes endeavored to allay the wind by enchantments<sup>62</sup>. There were magicians at Corinth who claimed to be able to calm the winds<sup>63</sup>. The priestess Oenoea also could allay them<sup>64</sup>.

Even the philosopher Empedocles professed *inter alia* power to allay fierce winds or to stir up blasts, to cause rain or to stop it<sup>65</sup>. One of his methods of allaying the winds is so ridiculous that one almost suspects him of having played a practical joke. When the etesian winds were blowing so viciously as to be destructive of crops, he ordered that asses be flayed and that from their hides sacks should be made and stretched toward the hills so as to catch the winds<sup>66</sup>. His success earned for him the name 'Wind-Stopper'<sup>67</sup>. Empedocles is

said likewise to have stopped a cloud that was bearing down upon Agrigentum<sup>68</sup>.

Simonides composed a song to the winds. When they heard it sung at sea, they would submissively follow the song, and, blowing upon the stern of the ship, would help it onward in its course<sup>69</sup>. Sophocles, the Athenian, calmed winds that blew out of season<sup>70</sup>.

Because of lack of favorable winds, grain transports in the Mediterranean could not reach Constantinople on one occasion during the reign of Constantine. Enraged by the belief that a wise man named Sopater had bound the favorable blasts, the populace held an indignation meeting and persuaded the Emperor to give orders for him to be killed<sup>71</sup>. In order to keep the wind away some magicians were wont to cut up and burn the *silurus*, a large fish<sup>72</sup>.

The Cretan Telchines could summon clouds, hail, rain, or snow<sup>73</sup>. Not less versatile was the sorceress Medea. She could cause or dispel clouds and winds, summon snows, and doubtless control the elements in other ways<sup>74</sup>. There was an old woman named Dipsas who was familiar with Aeaeon incantations. At her will the entire expanse of the heavens would be clouded, or the day would be bright and clear<sup>75</sup>. With incantation Circe, too, could weave moisture-laden clouds beneath the heavens<sup>76</sup>. Neptune could dispel them<sup>77</sup>.

Nephele, the mother of the Centaurs, poured forth a heavy rain in order to aid them against Heracles<sup>78</sup>. Merely with their voices Thessalian enchantresses could bring clouds and rain, and even thunder, without the permission of Jove. Likewise, they could lull a storm<sup>79</sup>. When a demon or demigod died in some of the islets about Britain, great storms and tempests would arise<sup>80</sup>.

Part of an epigram on the bard Orpheus reads: 'No more shalt thou lull to sleep the howling winds and the hail and the drifting snow and the roaring sea'<sup>81</sup>.

When the people of Crannon in Thessaly desired a rain-fall, they shook a large bronze chariot which they kept in a temple<sup>82</sup>. The badge of this people consisted of two crows perched on chariot wheels<sup>83</sup>. Servius<sup>84</sup> explains Prometheus's theft of fire by saying that he taught man to draw down the lightning.

The Etruscans had an outstanding reputation as meteorologists<sup>85</sup>. They were especially versed in the ways of Jupiter Fulminator. Tarchon protected his fields from thunderbolts by surrounding them with white vines; Tages employed the head of an ass against evils in general<sup>86</sup>. Etruscans used incantations to cause

<sup>50</sup>*Iliad* 17.503-506. Compare 4.166-168; Vergil, *Aen.* 8.352-354; Silius Italicus 12.719-724.

<sup>51</sup>*Iliad* 5.749-751. <sup>52</sup>*Odyssey* 10.15-26. In India winds and rain were kept under control in jars (Philostratus, Apollonius of Tyana 3.14).

<sup>53</sup>See also Ovid, *Met.* 4.663, 11.747-748. For a modern feminine Aeolus, see John Biggs, Jr., 'The Wind Witch', *Scribner's Magazine*, 71.343-354. In Scott, *The Pirate*, Chapter 7, 'the mistress of the potent spell' could 'change the wind by pulling her curch on one side, as King Erick used to do by turning his cap'.

<sup>54</sup>Pliny, *N. H.* 3.94.

<sup>55</sup>2.420, 5.109, 382-385, 15.202.

<sup>56</sup>4.500, 5.291-294, 7.272, 9.283, 11.400, 497, 24.109. See too

*Iliad* 9.362, and Vergil, *Aen.* 1.131-134, 4.223.

<sup>57</sup>5.268, 7.266. <sup>58</sup>11.7, 12.149. <sup>59</sup>15.26-27. <sup>60</sup>1.479.

<sup>61</sup>Apollonius Rhodius 1.1092-1100, 1132-1134, 1151-1152. Else-

where Rhea is said to be the cause of rains. See Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, Chapter 6.

<sup>62</sup>Herodotus 7.191. <sup>63</sup>Hesychius, s. v. Anemokoitai.

<sup>64</sup>Petronius 134. See also Apuleius, *Apologia* 3.16; *Geoponica*

5.33.7.

<sup>65</sup>Dioegenes Laertius 4.50.

<sup>66</sup>The recollection of Ulysses's bag of winds may have made this

seem more plausible.

<sup>67</sup>Dioegenes Laertius, Empedocles 5.60. See also Hesychius, s. v. Kolusamenas. Compare too Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*

6.30, page 754.

<sup>68</sup>Philostratus, *Epistolae* 8.7.8.

<sup>69</sup>Himerius, *Oratio* 5.60. See also Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*,

3.397. Compare stories about Orpheus, *Greek Anthology* 7.8;

Horace, *Carm.* 1.12.7-10.

<sup>70</sup>Philostratus, *Epistolae* 8.7.8. <sup>71</sup>Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum*

41. <sup>72</sup>*Geoponica* 5.33.7.

<sup>73</sup>Diodorus 5.55.3. Compare 5.56.1-2.

<sup>74</sup>Ovid, *Met.* 7.201-202, 424; Tibullus 1.2.49-50; Valerius Plac-

cus, *Argonautica* 8.351; Pausanias 2.12.1.

<sup>75</sup>Ovid, *Amores* 1.8.9. <sup>76</sup>Ovid, *Met.* 14.368-369. <sup>77</sup>Vergil,

*Aen.* 1.140. <sup>78</sup>Diodorus 4.12.6. <sup>79</sup>Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6.465-468.

<sup>80</sup>Plutarch, *Moralia* 410 E-F. <sup>81</sup>*Greek Anthology* 7.8.

<sup>82</sup>Antigonos, *Historia Mirabilium* 15.

<sup>83</sup>For an illustration, see Jane Harrison, *Themis*, 81 (Cambridge,

1912).

<sup>84</sup>On *Eclouge* 6.42.

<sup>85</sup>See K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker* 176-180 (Stuttgart, 1877).

<sup>86</sup>Columella 10.344-347.

as well as to avert thunderbolts<sup>87</sup>. When Alaric was assailing Rome in 408 A. D., Pope Innocent summoned Etruscan diviners to repeat their feats of terrifying barbarians by bringing thunderbolts upon them<sup>88</sup>. Tullius Hostilius was struck by lightning when he made a mistake in the ceremony of drawing down Jove<sup>89</sup>. Lightning was invoked against a monster which had ravaged the territory around Volsinii<sup>90</sup>. So great was the reputation of the Etruscans as masters of the lightning that some scholars of a former day seriously asked whether they did not anticipate Franklin<sup>91</sup>. From them the Roman farmers learned how to quiet the winds and to turn aside storms<sup>92</sup>.

The immersion in the Tiber of the Argei or puppets has been explained as a rain-spell<sup>93</sup>. At Sena Insula, an island off the coast of the Osismii in Gaul, there was an oracle of a Gallic goddess. Nine virgins named Gallicenae<sup>94</sup>, who had charge of the oracle, could raise storms by their verses<sup>95</sup>. Pliny<sup>96</sup> speaks of Magi who asserted that they could avert hail.

There were demons who were able to give advance information of storms, thanks to their habitations amid the clouds and near the stars<sup>97</sup>. Tertullian<sup>98</sup> mentions a *virgo caelestis, pluviarum pollicitatrix*. From the Codex Theodosianus (9.16.5) we learn that in the time of Constantine there were many persons who sought to disturb the elements<sup>99</sup>. When provision was made to punish those who practised magic arts, an exception was made of persons who were really trying to benefit mankind by turning aside rain and hail from the ripe crops in the vineyards (9.16.3).

Even the seas were subject to magical control. Medea could arouse the waves<sup>100</sup>. The Gallicenae had similar power<sup>101</sup>. Amid the raging of Notus Thessalian maidens forbade the waters to feel the squalls<sup>102</sup>. One will recall how Christ calmed the sea of Galilee: "But the men marvelled, saying, 'What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?'"<sup>103</sup> In Apuleius<sup>104</sup> one speaker regards as preposterous the idea that winds can be lulled by magic whispering, or that a boisterous sea can be stilled.

In addition to passages which link the use of incantations to definite names, there are some general references to their employment. Pliny<sup>105</sup> notes the existence of incantations against hail, but refuses to set down the words. In the Geoponica (1.14.11) they are thought highly improper. Seneca<sup>106</sup> speaks rather patronizingly of 'antiquity' for believing that rain could be attracted or repelled by them. We have

noted that thunder too could be caused or prevented in this manner<sup>107</sup>.

Zeus does not seem to have been a very jealous god, for no weather-makers were punished for assuming his prerogatives except those who tried to imitate thunder and lightning. The thunderbolt was the great instrument of divine vengeance<sup>108</sup>. Athena, however, was allowed to wield it. She boasted that she alone knew the keys of the chambers of the thunderbolt<sup>109</sup>. She used this weapon to kill Ajax<sup>110</sup>.

For imitating lightning by torches thrown skyward and thunder by driving chariots over a bronze bridge, Salomoneus was doomed to cruel punishments in Hades<sup>111</sup>. Dionysius<sup>112</sup> records for us the fate of Allodius, an Alban king whom the gods hated. Scorning the divine powers, he imitated thunder and lightning with the idea of terrifying mankind into the belief that he himself was a god. To punish him, tempests and thunderbolts crashed down upon his dwelling, the Alban Lake rose to an unwonted height, and he himself was overwhelmed with all his house. Whenever the depths of the lake were undisturbed, the ruins of porticoes and other traces of a dwelling were visible<sup>113</sup>.

Deities other than Jove might, like Jehovah of the Hebrews, use the weather to punish impiety. On one occasion an Athenian named Stratocles decreed that Demetrius on visiting Athens should be received with the same divine honors that were paid to Demeter and Dionysus. This and other acts of sacrilege aroused the displeasure of the gods. 'On the day of the festival of Dionysus the procession was stopped by excessive cold, which came entirely out of season, and a severe frost not only destroyed all the fig trees and vines, but even cut off a great part of the grain in the blade'<sup>114</sup>.

In Petronius<sup>115</sup> the fields are represented as suffering because the people are no longer devout. Aristophanes<sup>116</sup> playfully pictures the clouds as threatening to requite disrespect by destroying grain, grapes, and olives with hail.

(To be Concluded)

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### A MODERN CANNAE<sup>1</sup>

Teachers whose pupils find Caesar dull can inject new life into the work if they will compare modern

<sup>107</sup>Pliny, N. H. 2.140. For late instances of weather-making see Du Cange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, s. v. Tempestarii.

<sup>108</sup>E. g. Horace, Epp. 1.3.39-40.

<sup>109</sup>Aeschylus, Eumenides 830-831. There were, however, other deities who occasionally wielded the bolt.

<sup>110</sup>Vergil, Aen. 1.40, 11.260; Hyginus, Fabulae 116.

<sup>111</sup>Vergil, Aen. 6.583; Valerius Flaccus 1.662; Hyginus, Fabulae 61, 250; Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 1.9.7.

<sup>112</sup>Antiquitates Romanae 1.71.

<sup>113</sup>For other references to this story and for a discussion of it, see K. P. Smith, On a Legend of the Alban Lake Told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, American Journal of Philology 16.203-210.

<sup>114</sup>Plutarch, Demetrius 12. On the use of the elements to punish man, see Hesiod, Fragments 125 (109); Aeschylus, Septem in Thebas 440; Aristophanes, Nubes 339; Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 1.7.2, 3.8.1; Plutarch, Sulla 14.7, Lucullus 24.5; Quintus Smyrnaeus 8.70-73; Horace, Epp. 1.3.39-40; Livy 8.6; Tacitus, Annales 13.41; 4-5, 16.13.1; Appian, De Rebus Illyricis 4. Alexander was assisted by a heaven-sent rain (Plutarch, Alexander 27).

<sup>115</sup>ad finem. <sup>116</sup>Nubes 1121-1125.

<sup>1</sup>This paper was received after Colonel Spaulding's article, The Classical Element in the German War Plan of 1914, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.142-143, had been sent to the printer. The reader may be reminded that, under the caption War, The

<sup>87</sup>Pliny, N. H. 2.140. <sup>88</sup>Zosimus 5.41.

<sup>89</sup>Pliny, N. H. 2.140, 28.13-14. See also Livy 1.37.8. <sup>90</sup>Pliny, N. H. 2.140.

<sup>91</sup>For comment and bibliography, see Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, s. v. Pulmen, page 1357, note 7.

<sup>92</sup>Columella 10.339-341. <sup>93</sup>Fowler, Roman Festivals, 119 (London, 1899).

<sup>94</sup>There is also a reading *Barrigenae*. <sup>95</sup>Pomponius Mela 3.6.

<sup>96</sup>Pliny, N. H. 37.124.

<sup>97</sup>Tertullian, Apologeticus 22. <sup>98</sup>Apologeticus 23. <sup>99</sup>Compare Codex Justinianus 9.18.6. <sup>100</sup>Valerius Flaccus 8.352. <sup>101</sup>Pomponius Mela 3.6.

<sup>102</sup>Lucan, Pharsalia 6.469-471. Compare Vergil, Aen. 1.135; Ovid, Met. 7.153-154; Cicero, De Natura Deorum 3.20; Petronius 134, ad finem.

<sup>103</sup>Matthew 8.27. <sup>104</sup>Metamorphoses 1.3. <sup>105</sup>N. H. 17.267, 28.29. <sup>106</sup>Naturales Quaestiones 4.7.2.

methods of fighting with those of Caesar. Caesar's *lilia, cippi, cervi, stimuli* have their imitation in the modern pits, barbed wire entanglements, iron spikes and bayonets imbedded in heavy timber, mined fields, and other devices. 'Modern' methods of trench fighting will be found as ancient as the battle-fields on which the World War took place.

As a parallel in military tactics no more striking example can be found than that afforded in a comparison between the Battle of Cannae and the Battle of Tannenberg.

Last year witnessed the tenth anniversary of the Battle of Tannenberg, August 23-31, 1914. As a piece of field tactics and the successful application of 'the enveloping movement', Tannenberg rivals ancient Cannae. In 1914, Hindenburg well-nigh annihilated a Russian army at Tannenberg by applying the principle originated by the great Carthaginian.

The Germans have ever regarded this method of fighting as their own rightful heritage, and their history shows other successful applications of Hannibal's attack at Cannae by such leaders as Frederick the Great and Moltke. While Count von Schlieffen's book on tactics, Cannae, undoubtedly served to instruct Falkenhayn, Mackensen, Ludendorff, and other German leaders in the World War, Hindenburg especially laid his plans on this principle of fighting on the Eastern Front in the early stages of the war. The Battle of Tannenberg is his supreme achievement.

Though from one angle this battle seems confusing and intricate, inasmuch as it involves detailed movements on a battle-front of about one hundred miles, from another angle its very vastness, if viewed as a whole, emphasizes Hannibal's design at Cannae.

The scene of the battle was in East Prussia. The actual field of fighting was within territory bounded by Allenstein on the North, Ortelsberg on the East, Soldau on the South, and Eylau on the West. These places were connected by railroads. If the reader will consult a map and draw lines connecting these points, he will obtain a quadrilateral. The eastern portion of this space is exceedingly bad country, a network of swamps and lakes and boggy streams, generally known as the Masurian Lakes, a region traversed by but few good roads.

Hindenburg was thoroughly familiar with this swampy region in East Prussia, where, we are told, year by year he had explored every acre of ground in anticipation of just such an eventuality. The Hannibalic method at Cannae was Hindenburg's hobby, and its details had been clearly worked out in his mind for this particular battle-ground long before the Russians appeared there. Accordingly, when two divisions of the Russian army had crossed into East Prussia with Königsberg as an immediate objective, Hindenburg's 'Cannae' was already taking shape.

In the absence of a diagram we may designate the

points of importance by N, representing Allenstein on the North; E, indicating Ortelsberg on the East; S, meaning Soldau on the South; W, referring to Eylau on the West. Our figure is them described by NESW; it was in the eastern half of this territory, described by the triangle NES, that the major portion of Hannibal's Cannae was reenacted.

The Russian army under Samsonoff, after some slight initial successes against the German Landsturm troops, had been massed on a front represented approximately by a line drawn from N to S. This army faced the West and had its rear toward the Western Masurian Lakes. Hindenburg drew up the greater part of his men on his right, facing the Russians at S, who had advanced against him with a spirit of overconfidence and were unaware of the trap being laid for them.

Hindenburg's attack at S was successful, and achieved a two-fold purpose: it deprived the Russians of the use of the only available roads and railways for retreat, and made it appear that he intended to fight it out in the South. He strongly entrenched himself.

On the next day he quickly moved by railway most of his forces and heavy guns to his left near N, so that the Russians were suddenly confronted with a superior force dealing vigorous blows against their right. At the end of that day the Russian right, having gradually been turned back, was forced to retreat in such a way that its final position represented a circular shape with Samsonoff's full forces being bent in towards the swamps in a southeasterly direction from N towards E.

This pressure was continued for days on the entire front, but especially on the Russian right, where Hindenburg had massed most of his troops. Samsonoff's whole force continued to be bent farther in towards the Masurian Swamps until his retreat was terminated by a hopeless congestion in a country where practically every avenue of escape was closed by swamp and mire. One contingent of the Russian army managed to escape by a narrow defile near E at Ortelsberg; but by far the greater portion perished in the swamps. The German guns, stationed on the higher ground, caused frightful carnage among the Russians, helplessly floundering in the awful mires and quicksands. The Germans kept closing in and narrowing the circle until "whole regiments were driven into the lakes and drowned in the water or choked in the bottomless mires". Hindenburg had prepared his Cannae with uncanny foresight and finished it on August 31.

On comparison the movements of Hindenburg will be found identical with those of Hannibal at Cannae; what Hasdrubal's cavalry had done at Cannae, Hindenburg did at Tannenberg. Hannibal purposely weakened his center in order that he might carry out the subsequent enveloping movements on the flanks; Hindenburg with a force outnumbered three to one enveloped the Southern Russian army on the left wing, and then by a rapid concentration of his men drove in the Russian right on the north until he sent them back to the marshes with a hail of lead and iron, just as Hannibal's cavalry had thrown their darts into the Roman army. Although the Romans outnumbered

<The World War, 1914-1918>, and the Classics, in the General Index to THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY I-VI, page 96, he will find half a column of references to articles in which comparisons were drawn between the methods of fighting that obtained in the World War and those that were employed by the Romans.

him, Hannibal completely destroyed their army by shrewdly taking advantage of a rash commander, who was no strategist. Hindenburg defeated Samsonoff for the same reasons<sup>2</sup>.

Tannenberg is just another illustration of a military principle over two thousand years old—that numbers will not always win; the genius of a general who is clever in misleading his opponent may have by far the better chance. Yet Tannenberg did not bring ultimate victory to the Germans any more than Cannae brought it to the Carthaginians; neither Hannibal nor Hindenburg was able to follow up his victory.

There is no special significance in the adoption of the name Tannenberg, for this town was only one of the many points in the area of fighting. No doubt its choice was dictated by other historical associations recalling German successes of centuries ago.

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### MR. D. H. BANNER ON GREEK ART

The Nineteenth Century for April, 1924 (95.555-567) contained an article entitled Modernism in the Arts, by Delmar Harmood Banner, a young English painter who, in addition to his painting, has lately been doing some writing for the reviews on topics related to the fine arts<sup>1</sup>. In the concluding section of this article the writer discusses the immense and wholesome influence which Greek art has exerted and may yet exert upon modern art. Some quotations from this passage may be of interest to readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, as expressing the convictions of a creative artist concerning what may be called the 'germinative function' of Greek art.

The past is our teacher, but romantic sighs are not enough. If set down in Athens, say, in the Plague year, or at the time of the massacres of Mytilene or Melos, or if we saw the quite nineteenth century conditions in the mines of Laureion, we might prefer to enjoy the Parthenon in Bloomsbury and Sophocles in Oxford. Yet to enjoy these at all is to breathe new life; it is to be empowered. . . .

If Michelangelo copied antique statues for two years, who are we to nurse our 'originality'? There is no choice except between being the sport of chance influences or choosing our influences for ourselves. . . .

Nothing need be added to <Sir Joshua> Reynolds' Sixth Discourse save this: Almost all that makes life fine is Greek. The Renaissance was a revival of Greek art, but not of the greatest Greek art. Of the 14,000 works of Hellenic sculpture in Rome only six were found in the Quattrocento. No works of the fifth century were known until the nineteenth. If the least of Greek statues could inspire all the glories of the Renaissance, what could not the achievements of Pheidias do?—which seemed, as Quintilian<sup>3</sup> says of them, to 'add something to religion'. We imitate the past already, but when we see sculptured stations of the Cross which derive from the lion hunt of Assur-Nasir-

Pal II, we think regretfully of the Panathenaic Procession. . . . A man who should spend a day with the sculptures of the Parthenon, and then hear the word 'progress' spoken, would laugh at the vain presumption. The Demeter of Cnidos is incomparably more divine than any Madonna. We are not so civilised, so wise, so gifted, so noble as the Athenians. If we are to see a new Renaissance, it can only be Greek. There is no reason why it should not be greater than the first, since we can follow greater leaders. There are hundreds of works of genius to enjoy, but only a few to be followed: those of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven; Homer, the Greek tragedians, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Scott, Burke, and a few others; Pheidias, Titian, Rembrandt, Velasquez, Turner; the Greeks above all. A landscape painter could paint a mountain group like the Fates of the Parthenon. It is not the mimicry of externals, but the laborious study of the spirit, that is needed. Matthew Arnold was a follower of Hellas, not in *Merope*, but in *Sohrab*. The decadence of antiquity also harked back to earlier years; there was an 'archaistic' style like the first century Diana of the British Museum; but there was also the Aphrodite of Melos, decadent in being half draped, yet with the majesty and perfection of a mightier age. That is the type of the noble following of antiquity. . . . With a normal society the supreme normality of Greek art may return. English literature has shown itself capable of it in the past, but so far among painters only Watts, the most original of them, has followed Pheidias. . . .

For all the masters share the normality, the truth, of the Greeks. Ching Hao, in China in the tenth century, wrote: 'A resemblance reproduces form; art reflects spirit; truth shows spirit and substance in like perfection'. This *Kunstwahrheit* the Greeks attained. . . . "No poem", says Coleridge, "should consist wholly of poetry", and Greek imagination is rooted in reason and fact. They "saw life steadily and saw it whole". "I know not how it is", wrote Arnold, "but their commerce with the ancients seems to me to produce in those who practise it, a steadying effect upon their judgment. . . . They are like persons who have had a very weighty and impressive experience. They are more truly than others under the empire of facts". This truth, this profound normality, supremely Greek, is in all greatness—in the Bible, or the Venetians, or Bach, or Dante.

It will be seen that Mr. Banner presents a view of the function of Greek art entirely in accord with Zielinski's doctrine that 'Antiquity should be not a model, but a source of quickening strength for modern culture'<sup>4</sup>.

Mr. Banner's reference to Watts as a follower of Pheidias may be supplemented by the following quotations from other sources:

. . . He <Watts> would say that he learnt in no school save one, that of Pheidias, and in that school he had never ceased to learn<sup>5</sup>.

He went to the Academy schools, but only stayed there about a month; never caring for or absorbing the teaching, such as it was, of the place. 'He wandered perpetually in the Greek galleries of the British Museum, staring at the Elgin marbles, from which he always declared he learnt all the art he knew. "There", he said, stretching out his hand towards the Ilyssus in his studio, "there is my master"<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>The close resemblance between these two battles can best be represented by two comparative diagrams which the writer will be glad to send to any who may be interested.

<sup>2</sup>Other articles by Mr. Banner are Joshua Reynolds, 1723-1823: The Cultivation of Taste, The Nineteenth Century, 94.200-209 (August, 1923), and the Royal Academy, The Nineteenth Century, 95.868-876 (June, 1924).

<sup>3</sup>In 12.10.9 Quintilian says of the chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia: cuius pulchritudo adiecisse aliquod etiam receptas religioni videtur: adeo maiestas operis deum aequavit.

<sup>4</sup>Th. Zielinski, Our Debt to Antiquity, in the English translation by H. A. Strong and H. Stewart, 110, and *passim* (London, Routledge, New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1909).

<sup>5</sup>M. S. Watts, George Frederic Watts: The Annals of an Artist's Life, 1.26 (London, Hodder and Stoughton; undated). In this work are reported some interesting discussions by Watts of the art of Pheidias; see especially 1. 316-317, 2. 80-81.

<sup>6</sup>G. K. Chesterton, George Frederic Watts, 22 (London, Duckworth and Co.; undated).

## REVIEW

Two Views of Education. With Other Papers Chiefly on the Study of Literature. By Lane Cooper. New Haven: Yale University Press (1922). Pp. ix + 321.

The contents of this volume are as follows:

I. Greek Culture <1-14: reprinted from the *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1919 edition, 13.384-387>; II. Ancient and Modern Letters <15-29: reprinted from *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 11.234-243 [July, 1912]>; III. The Teaching of English and the Study of the Classics (30-46: reprinted from the *Educational Review* 49. 37-47 [January, 1915], and *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8.178-182<sup>1</sup>); IV. Good Usage <47-71>; V. The Teaching of Written Composition <72-87>; VI. The Correction of Papers <88-104>; VII. Literature for Engineers <105-127>; VIII. Teacher and Student <128-144>; IX. Patterns <145-161: reprinted from *School and Society* 9.643-650 [May 31, 1919]>; X. Things New and Old (162-181: reprinted from *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 13.107-111 [February 2, 1920]); XI. The Function of the Leader in Scholarship <182-218>; XII. Ways and Means of Improving University Scholarship <219-248>; XIII. The Doctoral Degree in English <249-266>; XIV. Two Views of Education <267-293>; Appendix, A Course in Translations of the Classics <294-307: reprinted from *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 11. 49-52, November [19], 1917<sup>2</sup>>; Index <309-321>.

It will be noted that several of the papers included in this volume have been published in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*. From them a general idea can be got of the character of the volume. I specially commend the paper *Two Views of Education*.

The identity of the two views of education is indicated in the following paragraph (268-269):

The two views in question are as old as humanity, and as young; as ancient as the Greeks, and as modern; as remote as the Old Testament, and as near as the New; they belong quite as much to America as to Europe.... I shall select as representative of these opposite views two men who belong to modern Protestant tradition, rather than the ancient classical, or the mediaeval Catholic. Both men are associated with democratic rather than monarchical institutions; both are connected in our minds with republican Switzerland and the Protestant city of Geneva. For good or ill, the influence of each has been powerful, as it has been obvious, upon the education of Protestant America. The two main educational tendencies in our country, I submit, may be fitly designated if we link one with the name of John Calvin and the doctrine of human depravity, and the other with that of Jean Jacques Rousseau and the belief, as he expressed it, in the original goodness of man.

The discussion of Calvin occupies pages 269-273; that of Rousseau claims pages 273-277.

I have space to quote only one more passage (276-278):

...the history of American education... has meant a gradual movement away from the ideals of Calvin and the Protestant Reformation toward those of Rous-

<sup>1</sup>Curiously enough, Professor Cooper does not mention the publication of this paper in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*. Since the paper was read at the meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States which was held at Barnard College in 1914, it belonged to *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*. But, in answer to his own request, Professor Cooper was allowed to publish the paper first in the *Educational Review*.

<sup>2</sup>Here Professor Cooper's reference is merely to "*The Classical Weekly* for November, 1917". There are always at least two numbers of *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* in November.

seau and the French Revolution. We have come to aim less at ultimate improvement, and more at immediate satisfaction. Not discipline, but content, is the watchword. We are not to trouble ourselves and our students with what is old, difficult, unnatural, and far-away, when we and they crave what is new, easy, natural, and close at hand. The chief end of man is to make a living and to adapt himself comfortably to his environment. Let him know the objects that lie about him—and this means, we may say, not the books of permanent value (though libraries existing at this very moment are full of them, so that they are always a part of our environment), but the geology of his native region, and the latest number of the *Outlook* or the *Review of Reviews*. . . our theorists on education tell us to occupy ourselves with our neighbor and with proximate interests before they give us any answer to the question, 'Who is my neighbor?'—though the answer, as in the parable, is generally not the one that first occurs to the casual observer. The *Republic* of Plato and the *Ethics* of Aristotle have, after all, been neighbors to more well-educated minds than ever the *Outlook* or the *Review of Reviews* will be. . . In the type of pedagogy inspired by Rousseau, the accidental circumstances and the natural leaning one betrays at the outset count as the determining factors in one's instruction. And so in our time we study English, French, and German, and, newest of all, Spanish, since the peoples seem to be our neighbors; and we do this to the disadvantage of Greek and Latin, good Samaritans able and willing to care for the boy who is wounded in the head by ignorance. So also we have the elective system in place of a fixed curriculum, with lectures to listen to instead of recitations to make, so that our students know more about taking pleasure than about taking pains; and we educate them for the first ten years of life after they leave school, rather than (to quote Rousseau again) 'for some far-away indefinite happiness they may never enjoy'. We will educate our boy for the chief end of man if you do not put the end too far ahead. But why not go at least as far as the pagan Plato, and train our youth with a view to their activities at the age of fifty?

It is a pleasure always to call attention to work by Professor Cooper: so much of it lies within the classical field. He is one of the few worth-while teachers of English in this country—worth-while because he never forgets that back of English literature, as of all modern literatures, lie the classical literatures, especially Greek literature. Several of his books have been reviewed in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*: Aristotle on the Art of Poetry, An Amplified Version with Supplementary Illustrations for Students of English, 7.40; A Concordance to the Works of Horace, 10.144, 11.28-29; The Greek Genius and Its Influence: Select Essays and Extracts, 12.150-152. In 15.95-96 he had a paper on Translations of Aristotle's *Poetica*; in 17.55-56 he reviewed A. Gudemaq, *Aristoteles über die Dichtkunst*.

CHARLES KNAPP

# CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

## IX

Revue des Questions Historiques—October, Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne Grecque et Romaine, l'Année 1923, Maurice Besnier.

Revue des Deux Mondes—October 15, La Vêritable Carthage, by René Cagnat.

Revue Historique—September, La Route d'Hannibal du Rhône aux Alpes, L. A. Constans.

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